/443 cont./

396 construction of the canoe, two wide pieces for the sides and a long, narrower, thick piece as the center section. /444/ The man drags them out of the woods and lays them on an open and even, grassy surface where he wants to do his work. The loose bark fibers on the inside are scraped off with a scraper or knife, or even with nothing but a sharpened mussel shell. Then the piece is turned around, and the outside smoothed by planing off the surface. When that has been done, the bark pieces, one after the other, are made flexible by being heated.

The sheet of bark is laid on a long fire with even charcoal heat. It is constantly turned and shifted so that all parts on both sides are evenly heated, but also protected from burning. This makes the entire sheet flexible, like thick leather, and in this state it can be bent into the desired shape.

They then make a choice by eye among the three pieces. As we have said, the side parts, ênča (ênja), must be wide, the center part, uhěx, which is to become the bottom of the boat, long and thick. Again measuring with his eye, the man begins [844] by cutting each piece properly. He never uses a rule or any kind of similar tool, such as a string, a little stick, or the span of his own hand. The center piece is made in the shape of a cigar, that is, the right and left third of its total length tapers and the ends are approximately ten centimeters wide, or at least one end, in case the other tapers to a point. The latter is used for the bow, the former for the stern. The other two sheets of bark are cut in such a way that one edge is almost straight, the other curved; both ends of each piece terminate slantwise in narrow points. After the center piece has been cut, the side pieces are made to tally exactly by means of repeated fittings. They must be as flexible as possible, which is why they are again and again drawn through fresh water and afterwards through fire.

Two uniform thin poles are now needed for the upper edge or gunwale. In accordance with the proportions and the contour of the planned construction, about a dozen short sticks are pounded into the ground on either side. These are necessary as a scaffold and support for the parts not yet joined. As soon as the three pieces of bark have been accurately trimmed so that they fit together, they are placed in this framework. Sometimes the men also dig

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437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack [434] real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an [435] otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The • [436] Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 439 described above. For example, BD:307 gives matiyámatapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/. Likewise, matiyámata, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (390). Darwin (d):261 wrote:

> 390. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
438 on among the *Tehgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
439 with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
440 gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who
could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

428 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
429 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Both burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, as to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end deported—a severe punishment under *Tehgan* living conditions.

594 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to peddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[Illegible] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.
[Illegible] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Tehgan* society. Certain tasks fell to men and women jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Tehgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.

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915 of spirits (pl. III, c). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire punishment if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

913 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the Yahgan have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1279–1296). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoálox cycle. The elder of the two Yoálox brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the currents, the stars, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the malicious man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kreize with which it was associated, just as the Yoálox cycle was more or less associated with the Alacaluf. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lukúnas water spirits, and the Hákenuk giants.

LORE AND EDUCATION

911 In general, Yahgan technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and animal basketry, gives little indication of formative stirrings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple Yahgan harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect Yahgan culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern Athabaskan and northern Algonquians of sub-Arctic America.

There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no means of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Pachylepis betulaefolia* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 10 feet (3 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a believable cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

915 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.